1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

142
291
302
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Conversation

[Frontispiece, facing p. iii]

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

[p. 1]

I

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

1. VLACHS

In continental Greece north of Corinth the observant traveller is soon aware of communities of Greek-speaking transhumant shepherds known as Sarakatsani (Σαρακατσάνοι, or Σαρακατσανᾶιοι). In the plains it is unnecessary even to leave the main roads to see small groups of circular, domed, huts of wood and thatch, or flocks of sheep and goats guarded by shepherds dressed in rough black suits and immense goat-hair capes woven from the fleeces of their own animals. From May until the first days of November these semi-nomad shepherds graze their considerable flocks on the higher slopes of the mountains, generally 3,000–6,000 feet above sea level; during the remainder of the year they live in the coastal plains. Simple facts of climate and relief, snow on the high ground in winter, in the summer burning heat in the plains, encourage this transhumance in a geographical area physically dominated by the ranges of the Pindus massif and the southern extremity of the Rhodope mountains. Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace are the provinces in which they are most numerous but communities are found further south in continental Greece and some groups are established in the north of the Peloponnese and Euboea. In the whole of Greece their number, perhaps, approaches eighty thousand,[1] a population which was possibly absolutely greater a hundred years ago, but was certainly relatively more considerable as a fraction of the total inhabitants of the area.

The Greek villagers generally refer to the Sarakatsani simply as Vlachs (βλάχοι), that is shepherds who, in step with the rhythm of the seasons, lead their animals alternately down to the plains and up to the mountains. The occupational reference of the word, Vlach,[2] is an old one, already in use during the Byzantine period.

[1] Mme Chatzimichalis arrives at a total of 81,473. Ἀγγελικὴ Χατζημιχάλη, Σαρακατσάνοι, Athens, 1957, vol. i, Part A, p. νβ'.

[2] See e.g. Anna Comnena, Ed. Bonn., i, p. 395. One of a number of references quoted by Mme Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ψ'.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

A man may occarionally give his wife a kid 432
to sell but otherwise chickens and eggs are her only source of 434
cash income.

The huts which protect the Sarakatsani from the weather and 342
the curiosity of other families, are of two principal kinds, circu- 462
lar and domed (τουρλωτά), or rectangular and 'arched' (ἀψιδωτά).
Except that in the case of rectangular huts the men help the
women to erect the posts and crossbeams the building of the
hut is entirely the work of women. They cut, select, and tie into
position the pliable but strong branches which form the frame-
work of the circular hut. They collect, dress, and tie on to the
wooden skeleton the bundles of reeds, grasses, or ferns with
which the hut is thatched. They level the floor inside and plas- [237]
ter both the floor and the walls to a height of three feet with a
mixture of mud and mule-dung. They form the central hearth.
Five or six women working continuously are able to erect a hut [461]
of conventional size[1] in two to three days, although it will have [476]
taken them at least as many days to find and prepare their
materials.

The treatment of the wool from which the Sarakatsani make 236
the greater part of their clothing and all their blankets is also, [462]
naturally, in the hands of the women. The wool is divided into
three categories according to the fineness and length of the
staple. It is washed in hot water and beaten with a wooden
implement to free it from surplus grease. After the wool has 283
been dried in the sun and disentangled with a carding tool [236]
(λανάρι) it is spun by hand from a distaff (ρόκα). This is a
lengthy process and when a woman's hands are not otherwise
employed she is either spinning or knitting. Finally, the spun 286
thread is woven into cloth on the simple wooden loom which the [221]
women operate continuously during the months of August and
September when the flocks and the shepherds make fewer
demands on their energies. On the loom are made the blankets,
the shepherd's capes woven from a mixture of wool and goats'
hair, and the cloth for jackets, skirts, and trousers. Today pro- 294
fessional village or town tailors cut and sew the suits of the men,
but the cloth remains their own. Only shoes, shirts, and cotton 291
material (for the young girls' dresses at the summer festivals) are 432
bought from the shops of Jannina and other towns.

[1] A circular hut for a family of 6 or 7 adults generally has a diameter of 14 or 15 feet. Height and diameter are approximately the same.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

~~[p. 65]~~

291

2. The Women

[facing p. 64]

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

142
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3. Sarakatsan Grandmother

[facing p. 176]

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

friendship to the second. In this manner the shepherd, because he is useful and necessary to his patron through the power and prestige which his political allegiance and social attentions confer on him, is never entirely powerless to resist those administrative actions of Government which threaten his way of life. The system of patronage introduces a flexibility into administrative machinery whose workings are very often directed by persons remote from the people whose fortunes they are affecting.

5. MERCHANTS

A further system of relationships, which cross the boundaries of the community and relate it to the world outside, results from the shepherds' need to market the produce of their flocks.

They must sell this produce to provide the money required for the flour used in their bread, for the payment of their grazing dues, and for the growing list of luxuries which since 1938 through close observation of village life they have discovered to be essential to a family's self-esteem. These luxuries are for the most part articles of manufactured clothing, cotton summer dresses for the girls at school, European as against traditional shoes for men and women, tailored shirts for the men. Ten years ago the homespun cloth for men's jackets was cut by the women; it is now sent to a professional tailor. Pieces of cheap earthenware crockery and glassware begin to replace the heavy pewter plates and drinking mugs. There is increasing pressure to conform to village standards in these matters and each year more money is spent on the clothes and other things that have become prestige symbols. Each year, as the available winter grazing tends to decrease in area, its cost rises. While twenty years ago the whole community ate the yellow maize bread, today almost all the families make their bread from a more expensive brown flour which is largely wheaten in content. Only a few very poor families continue to eat yellow bread, and for this economy they suffer much ridicule. On all counts, the minimum money income required by a family to live in a style that will secure its prestige has greatly increased.

In the memory of living people the community has always exchanged some of its produce for money, and like many other pastoral and agricultural communities elsewhere it has always lived on credit for part of the year, paying off the greater part

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

these transactions secret from his cheese merchant but generally with only partial success. In April the shepherds hurry to meet the summer cheese merchants, conclude their agreements, and take an advance on their summer milk which for 200 ewes will be about £30. But this spate of spring revenue is often quickly dissipated in paying the heavy costs of winter pasturage, possibly of more legal wrangles, and sometimes of an Easter wedding. The celebration of Easter also brings its expenses. New shirts and shoes are bought for the family, cloth is sent to the tailors to be made up into new jackets and trousers. For if the family attends the Easter church service in old clothes it loses prestige. Also it is believed that at the service on Easter Saturday night each person ought to wear something that is new, to honour the resurrection of Christ.

About the middle of May the heads of shepherd families visit the merchant to agree with him the statement of their accounts. Money advances and the value of the flour issued are balanced against the value of the milk delivered to the cheese-making station. In an average year the result is generally a small profit or loss for the shepherd of perhaps £10 which is added to, or subtracted from, the total debt owed to the merchant. But in bad years when the grass has been poor, or many ewes have not produced lambs, the loss may be more substantial and this the merchant must bear if he does not want to force his client into selling his stock. If the shepherd is in difficulties, he may seek a further loan before leaving the plains. When the merchant grants this favour, the shepherd must accept a slightly lower price for his milk in the coming winter, about a farthing an 'oke' less than whatever proves to be the ruling rate for the next season.

When the shepherd arrives in his summer village in Zagori, he will generally have some money in his pocket. He immediately pays off the greater part but not all of the debt which in most cases he left behind in the village shop the previous autumn. This may amount to £20–£30 in some instances. Having paid off part of this debt he is in a better position to ask for credit later in the summer when he may again become short of cash. In the same way he will pay off some of his debts to winter shopkeepers when he first reaches the plains in the autumn.

At the end of July the shepherd takes the balance of his

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

the pallikari, so the fact that she is not yet a wife and mother allows the maiden to cultivate her shame which lies in her seclusion from the outside world and the denial of her sexuality. This is scarcely possible for a married woman. Not only must she submit to her husband's sexual embraces but her practical duties take her to some extent into the world outside her huts.

The maiden's cultivation of her shame demands that her clothes hide her femininity. Her hair is hidden under a black cotton scarf. A girl who by artifice or accident allows her scarf to become frequently undone gains an evil reputation. The only concession to the display of the hair is that girls grow their hair long, plaited into pigtails. The length of these pigtails, often artificially increased, is a point of pride and beauty. Thick, black, homespun blouses and woollen cardigans are buttoned to the neck and the wrists. The breasts are not supported and the shapeless bodice of the blouse effectively prevents the least hint of a provocative contour. A black woollen skirt is worn to the ankles. Generally as many as three thick underskirts are also worn under this. The general impression of the whole costume is one of shapelessness. The shame which is felt at the exposure of the body, even when no other person is present, means that undergarments are not changed for long periods and the body between the neck and the ankles is never washed. In contrast the hair is washed at least once a week, and the face, hands, and feet once or twice each day.

After she reaches the age of sixteen or seventeen a maiden must discipline her movements. No movement even in domestic labour must be hurried. She ought to walk with a slow and deliberate step. In the dance she must not lift her feet more than an inch or two from the ground. A girl who is seen running risks ridicule and a reputation for shamelessness. If, by evil chance, she were to fall backwards 'with her legs in the air' (ἀνάσκελα) she would virtually lose her honour. A girl should be proud but in a sense different from male pride. Thus she ought to be tall with an upright carriage, but with a gaze which is downcast, not level, and an expressive attitude which is directed inwards, not outwards.

A maiden ought to be secluded, as far as this is possible, from the gaze of the outside world. Not only does this guard her name against slander but, if she is unhealthy or ugly, it may

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
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142
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5. Sarakatsan Shepherd

[facing p. 288]

2:Fermor T-3,4 (no date) 1962
EH14 Samakrumi EH14 ◀
Greece EH1

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PERHAPS because it was my first Greek town after a few years of absence, I had taken a strong liking to Alexandroupolis. Large as it is, there is nothing overpoweringly polished about the citizens of this Thracian town; rather the reverse. Many of the limitations of a new provincial town pervade it; and the long evening hours of the officers and civil servants sitting in the *kaphenia* are spanned by familiar anecdotes and yawns and yet another coffee. The tedium of unchosen and unchanging company lurks there, and for some fastidious ones, the acute pain of listening to the same jokes and the same stories again and again.

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All at once, however, the boredom of the dusty evening street was halted by the passing of a wild, solitary, and alien figure that no streets or houses should ever have confined; it was a presence as inappropriate in these tame surroundings as a wolf in a main street of Byzantium. A rough black pillbox was tilted askew on his matted and whiskered head. He wore a black double-breasted waistcoat of homespun goat's hair, tucked into a black sash, below which a hairy and broad-pleated black kilt jutted stiffly to his knees. Black tights of the same stifling stuff covered his long legs, and he was shod in those Greek mountain shoes which turn up at the tip and curl back in a broad canoelike prow and end in a wide black

[p. 73-B]

484 291 pompon covering the front of the foot. The thick soles were clouted, and the nails grated underfoot. Gazing straight ahead, he loped along the middle 101 of the road, as though to keep as far as possible [233] from the contaminating houses. A long shepherd's [413] staff, whose crook was a tortuously carved wooden snake, was laid across his shoulders. His arms were [482] looped over it in the cruciform position in which many mountaineers carry their crooks and their guns. He was a Sarakatsán. Heads turned as he passed, and the smack of cards and the clatter of backgammon counters died down for a few moments. I got up and dogged his steps at a discreet distance.

[114] Sarakatsáns have always filled me with awe. I first saw these primeval Greek nomads years ago when I was walking across Bulgaria, on my way [342] to Constantinople. A gathering of beehive-shaped [131] huts were scattered over the wintry hills slanting 233 to the Black Sea. Brushwood folds ran up the green slopes, and thousands of shaggy black goats and sheep grazed over the rainy landscape, their heavy bronze bells filling the air with a many-toned and harmonious jangle. Here and there among them, like dark monoliths under the wheeling crows, their herdsmen leaned on their lance-[291] long crooks; their faces were almost lost in the deep hoods of high-shouldered goat's-hair capes that

reached to the ground, capes of so coarse a weave and so stiff with rain that they looked as though their incumbents could almost step forth and leave them standing like sentry boxes. I next saw them in March the following year, when I was riding across Greek Macedonia and stayed a night in one of their smoky wigwams. Since then I had seen them again and again, all over northern Greece, in the plains in winter and in the mountains in summer, but always on the skyline or in the middle distance. True nomads, these self-appointed Ishmaels hover on the outskirts of ordinary Greek life as fleetingly as a mirage, only manifesting themselves to ordinary mortals in far-away glimpses. Suddenly, at a ravine's twist far from the scorched lowlands, one comes across their impermanent hamlets of conical huts on high ledges of the Pindus and the Rhodope mountains and in the sierras of Roumeli; and in winter, gazing down from the snows that have banished them, one can discern their clustering huts in the plains, the ascending smoke, and the slowly grazing flocks.

Every spring their beasts and their long caravans of horses, laden with all they possess, can be seen winding up into the thawed mountains, or halted around a sudden village of somber tents, to stream downhill again later to the withered autumnal plains which the rains will soon turn green. One discovers them binding lopped branches and osier twigs into the hemispherical skeletons of the huts which will house them for the season; shelters whose blackened and molting thatch will later mark where they have settled for a few months and vanished from again. Sometimes a far-off barking and the murmur of bells hint at their presence deep in the ilex woods or along a dazzling canyon where nothing stirs except, perhaps, a pair of floating eagles. Besides these rare apparitions, this fugitive community of about eighty thousand souls and of flocks amounting to several million head seems to have the gift of invisibility.

Unlike the seminomads of Greece — the Koutzovlachs and the Karagounis, who all have mountain villages from which to migrate and to which they return after their half-yearly journeys in search of winter pasture — the Sarakatsáns have nothing more solid than their abodes of wicker and rush. All of them, however, look to some range of mountains, some fold or cordillera where they have grazed their flocks for centuries of summers, as their home. Their lowland pastures are more variable, an uncertain sojourn with few claims on their allegiance. At the turn of the century the Sarakatsáns of northern Greece were the

knees, others leaned back against the wall or the divan with a knee cocked up to support an outstretched arm, their fingers allowing the amber beads of a *komboloi* to fall at intervals of a few seconds. All were luxuriously asprawl and akimbo, and the company bristled with shepherd's crooks. They were laid across their laps or tilted at a slope over their shoulders. Some of the shepherds' crooks, staffs grasped by gnarled fists, stood bolt upright; others were propped against the wall; the top of each well-worn shaft was joined to a twirling hook carved in the shape of a dolphin, a dragon, a ram's head, or a snake.

Only a couple of the guests were dressed in black kilts. The others wore rough and hairy black jodhpurs. A few of the wildest and shaggiest were shod in rawhide moccasins tilting up like canoes, worn over swaths of white wool bound about their ankles with broad thongs. All of them wore their soft black skullcaps rakishly askew. Except for the white and pleated bridegroom, who stood by the door receiving horny handshakes and whiskery embraces from the guests, nearly all the people in the room were middle-aged or stricken in years. They conversed at the top of their voices; used to shouting against the wind to each other from hilltop to hilltop, they find it hard to modulate their voices at close quarters, so the smallest talk is stentorian, and the only alternative is a collusive and almost inaudible whisper, to which they suddenly resort if they notice a look of suffering on their interlocutor's face.

THEIR thick rural tones sounded different from those of Thrace. They resembled, rather, the dialect of Roumeli and of parts of Epirus, much further west; an accent which consists of suppressing all final vowels and most of those in the middle of words as well, giving their speech an oddly chopped and consonantal ring. It was made harder to follow by a private vocabulary for the details of their calling. Different kinds of springs, qualities of grass, ways of hut building and bell tuning, breeds of sheep and goats and horses and watchdogs all have special names. They have their own expressions for the tupping, lambing, weaning, shearing, carding, spinning, milking, seething, scalding, path finding, tent pitching, camp striking, trough scooping, and weather divining around which their whole life turns. How should a layman know that the reddish- or dark-faced sheep are called *Katmoúla*, or that belling them is called "ironing" or "arming" them? Or how many *okas* of bronze, and of what pitch, should be slung around the neck of a bellwether? Or that the best time to arm the flocks

585 535 long chain of the dancers. Their pace subsided to a ritual shuffle. There is nothing unusual in this; with a few exceptions, Greek dances, however many people may be joined hand in hand, are in effect solos — everything devolves on the leader, and each dancer, when his turn comes, fulfills the temporary role of coryphaeus. The job of the others, and especially of his immediate neighbor, to whom he is linked by a handkerchief, is to support him in his convolutions, and these are astonishing when a real mountain dasher is in the lead. But today, even after the first bridal saraband, the Dionysiac zest seemed to abandon the others when they linked hands. The dominance of form in the life of these nomads began to dawn on us.

595 Outside this semicircle, however, all was rejoicing. Staidness evaporated on release, and scores of young nomads were carousing and reeling under [535] the branches. Squatting or standing among the wigwams, rings of geometrical women confabulated or sang together, and there was even an ex- [283] clusive little ellipse of dancing women. Their gatherings were abristle — like those of the men with their crooks — with the carved distaffs tucked in their belts, all cloudy with rough hanks of raw wool, the spindles rising and falling at the end [534] of their twirling threads. Some of the younger of these spinning squaws had wooden cradles slung papooselike on their backs, each containing [533] a miniature nomad. Their songs had the same epic themes, laced with lament, as those of the men. The murmur of their talk was broken, again and again, with peals of laughter.

The Sarakatsánissas, usually so silent in the

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[p.81-A]

pair then retired to a hut, and to the hilarity of all, comic simulacra of considerable indecency were enacted within. But the groom was found wanting and thrown out; candidate after candidate entered with apparent promise, and each one in turn was ejected in disgrace. A fitting champion was discovered at last, and during a final mime of triumphant bawdiness, the entire company danced around the hut singing "The Pepper Song," the dancers alternately banging their noses and their rumps on the ground with a seesaw motion I would give much to observe.

The feast of St. George is the most propitious for christenings, and babies born immediately afterward often have to wait for a year to be baptized. But they are always named at once, and should they fall ill, they are given a lay baptism on the spot, lest they should die and turn into little vampires. The average family varies between five and fifteen children. Random fornication, adultery, divorce, rape, and bastardy are unknown, and should a case of bastardy ever crop up, death to all concerned is the only remedy. This is not only for reasons of morality, for these ill-starred children are thought to be Satan personified; they bring a curse on the huts, and should one grow up and die a natural death, a ghost rises

[p. 84 A]

S 114 steel scabbards clinking against their spurs; and then pounded off over the plain toward the hills and the far-sounding goat bells.

S 123 [361] [233] When, suddenly, at the heart of a deafening whirlpool of half-wild dogs, I drew rein at the camp toward sunset, it turned out to be a *stani* of about fifty huts scattered among the trees around a spring. The whole place was alive with golden evening dust and bleating and barking and bells. The ewes and the she-goats, followed by their shrill young, were being driven with crooks and shouts and ear-sundering whistles and the heckling of dogs into a great semicircular pen of wicker and woven thorns and thatch on a steep slope. S [239] Once inside, they were herded toward a narrow lych-gate at one end of it, where they were seized by their horns, their tails, or their hind legs, clamped back to front between a shepherd's knees, and milked under protest, a few deft seconds for each captive, into bronze caldrons. Despite my brief acquaintance with Greece, I knew that strange arrivals in country places unloose a friendly hubbub of curiosity and inquisition. Not so here. The aloof drovers doubled the diligence of their tasks; their shouts became louder, the milking more urgent. S [291] For the first time, I saw these Biblical men at close range; their black cloaks and their hoods gave them the look of Benedictines who had gone native. There were glimpses, too, of the amazing magpie geometry of the women rising from their dim looms and appearing for a moment in the threshold of the smoke-plumed cones. An authoritative old man with a sweeping mustache and an elaborate crook finally silenced the dogs and asked me what I wanted. I could understand [22] little of what he said; I had spent the two previous months, my first in Greece, in snowy Mount Athos, trying to convert my imperfect ancient Greek into the rudiments of the modern, and the Sarakatsán dialect was a further barrier. When they had gathered that, in spite of patched breeches and puttees, I was not a soldier — no sword or gun! — in fact, a foreigner from England, alone, and too young and as yet unpredatory-looking to be capable of much harm, their reserve began to thaw.

S 123 S 169 What was going on? They pointed down at the army glinting across the plain below through its long cocoon of dust, and the blast of a trumpet came softly to our ears. What had all that noise been about, over by the Struma? *Bum-boum-boum? Rat-tat-tat-tat? N'tang n'tang?* I gleaned with surprise from their half-understood questions that they had only the roughest notion of what was afoot. They knew that there had been a *kinima* —

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[P.87-C]

/39 cont./

283 However, one finds variations, the most interesting of which is this: the vertical part is flattened at its upper end, thus producing the form of a lyre (fig. 26).

The bobbin which is fundamentally only an accessory of the distaff is the principal twisting tool and the object around which one winds the spun wool (winding-on). It consists of two parts: one is the bobbin properly speaking, or the spindle; the other, the weight is /40/ a piece of hard wood in the shape of a truncated cone pierced at the two ends, so that it can set on the spindle (fig. 106 [probably a misprint; reference seems to be to Fig. 26]).

[142] [291]

[286]

Fig. 26

Fig. 27

286 The idiastra: this is a thin wood or board in the shape of an elongated rectangle (4 x 30 centimeters), each of the two long sides of which is pierced with regularly spaced holes, and the ends of which are shaped like handles (fig. 27). It resembles a draw-plate /filiere?/.

/40 cont./

286 This instrument is used for the most important of the operations preliminary to weaving, namely the warping, and its function is to prevent the thread from tangling when one prepares the warp of the loom.

In this connection it is perhaps necessary to mention that to mount the warp they use five pegs. However, the latter do not have any special interest from the point of view of "construction."

236 There is the carding tool, which serve to comb out the strands of wool after washing. It consists of two rectangular boards each of which has, /41/ on one of its sides, a certain number of metal needles (points), while on the free surface one sees, respectively, on one of the boards a handle and, on the other, a rope 60 centimeters

[291] [516]

Fig. 28

Fig. 29

long which ends in a wooden cylinder to which it is attached. Drawing No. 29 shows both this instrument and how it is used. (see also fig. 28).

/48 cont./

283 is intended for making covers, velentza, as well as rugs, the spindle is turned by the hand of the spinner, and this process, called drougha, produces a thicker thread (fig. 36).

Fig. 36

It is obvious that the position of the distaff is different in each of the two instances.

The wool of goats is always spun by the second method.

The yarn intended for the warp of the textile to be produced is twisted less than that used for the weft. Moreover, when a very fine thread is required, the Sarakatsani women place themselves at the top of a rock and let the spindle fall into space.

/51 cont./

286 11. See A. Leroi-Gourhan: op. cit., p. 293.

Let us now pass to the phase in the preparation of the loom which consists in transferring the warp onto the loom and involves another series of micro-procedures.

[291]

Fig. 38

The warp threads are first tied together at three points with a string. These points are set by pegs P 1, P 4 and P 5 (the branches of the crossing).

Then the warp threads are lifted from the pegs, plaited almost like hair, so that they can be put aside until the time when they are used (fig. 38).

Next, on the two posts that are 80 centimeters high and set in the ground at approximately one meter intervals one puts the beam--the one which is placed at the end of the loom opposite the weaver. /52/ It is on this beam that the plait of warp threads will be wound.

/59 cont./

342 The round hut

Seen from the outside, it gives the impression of a solid created by a parabola around a perpendicular axis whose tangent is at the top of the hut (fig. 45).

From the ground to a height of 1.60 meters its diameter is about six meters. From this height upward the diameter starts to diminish progressively but rapidly, ending, at a /60/ height of approximately five meters, in a geometric point which forms the top of the hut. They /the huts/ therefore proceed "imperceptibly from the ground to the summit, they have neither walls nor roof properly speaking, but a conical surface." (16)

16. According to the typology of huts established by A. Leroi-Gourhan: Milieu et Techniques, p. 261, which corresponds perfectly to this type of Sarakatsani hut.

The entire construction rests on a framework composed of vertical elements and intersecting horizontal elements.

Fig. 45

/80 cont./

354 high and approximately 20 centimeters thick, meant to protect the hearth against drafts and to facilitate the process of cooking of which we shall speak farther on (fig. 64).

Any kind of chimney is unknown.

342 Moreover, there are no divisions inside a Sarakatsani dwelling.

352 At the left of the entrance and 1.50 meters from the ground one sees two /81/ shelves of wood, one above the other. With very rare [342] exceptions these shelves are typically placed to the left of the entrance since, in most cases, the door opens inward; thus it is only in the opposite case that they are placed on the right. (fig. 65)

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Fig. 65

/82 cont./

417
233
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Fig. 66

417
233

/83/ The shelters

Sheepfolds: These folds are actually round or oval enclosures approximately 15 meters in diameter. The method of their construction is identical with that /fig. 67 appears here/ used in the construction of hut walls in general: forks and posts are driven into the ground, leaning slightly toward the center of the circle or ellipse and interlaced at regular intervals with long stems placed horizontally; the whole is covered with intertwined branches and foliage (fig 66 and 68).

The height of the enclosure is 1.80 meters. The opening that serves as entrance is closed with a door of intertwined boughs. /84/ (fig. 67). Inside, a second row of short forks are set 70 centimeters long, approximately 1.20 meters from the side thus forming a sort of circular palisade parallel to the walls. /Fig. 68 appears here/ The upper part of these forks is joined together by long stalks arranged one after the other. After that, the top of the outside enclosure and (824) that of the inside palisade are bound together with big stalks, producing a very slanting framework which is customarily covered with boughs, leaves, bunches of shrubs or aquatic plants./Fig. 69 appears here/

/94 cont./

233 (the time when milking stops), milking takes place around noon, that
234 is to say, once a day. However, the intervals become progressively
221 more spread out, inasmuch as the production of milk decreases as the season advances; thus, toward the 15th of August milking is done only every two or three days.

236 /95/ As for shearing, everything relating to it has already been pointed out in connection with the wool crafts. Hence we shall not go back over it here.

262 Finally, we must emphasize that the meat is almost exclusively
439 a means of trade for the Sarakatsani, since they eat it only five

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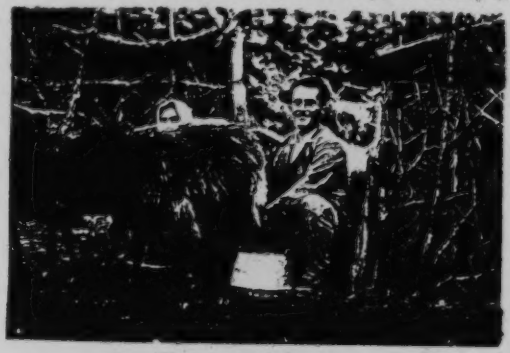

Fig. 75

262 or six times a year. On very rare occasions they "sacrifice" a lamb.
[439] This is their own expression, and it is a sufficient indication of their attitude with regard to this act.

233 Likewise, they never kill female animals (except when these are
[262] sterile) because it is precisely on the female that their economy rests.
[432] The male lambs are the ones which, after 40 days, are gradually

/98 cont./

121 Sarakatsani art, we shall concern ourselves here with only the
128 first aspect of this problem.

In general, one may say that:

291 The ancient male costume of the Sarakatsani is almost identical
[191] with the national costume of continental Greece (fig. 77).

On the other hand, the costume of the women shows striking peculiarities. The austerity of shapes, colors and decorative motifs is found nowhere else.

513 As for the blankets and rugs, the peculiarities that differentiate
352 them from those produced in other regions of continental Greece relate more to technology than to form and color.

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Fig. 77

[Men's Apparel]

/99 cont./

Sarakatsani clothing.

291 We shall begin our analysis with a description of Sarakatsani clothing.

[191] Men's apparel: Until a relatively recent period the apparel of the Sarakatsani male was the Greek "foustanella". Figure 77 shows this apparel which, from bottom to top, consists of the following articles:

The "tsarouchia": These pointed shoes made of calfskin, are a kind of very firm mocassin with heavy nailed soles; the vamp, curved front, has a large pompon at the tip. This type of footgear was common to both sexes.

2nd. The Sarakatsani was not familiar with socks and slipped his bare foot into the mocassin. On the other hand, from the ankle to the thighs he wore stockings of white wool which were fastened to the drawers. Black garters worn below the knees completed the /100/ [292] leg adornment. The stockings worn on festival days were knit and their garters ornamented with pompons, while the everyday stockings were cut out of white fleece passed through the "mandani" and were held up with very simple garters.

3rd. Short, cotton drawers were hidden under the "foustanella."

4th. The term "Foustanella" refers to a pleated skirt--a sort of kilt--of white cotton fabric. It was made of a number of isoseles trapezoids with narrow bases, brought together in seams. This permitted considerable fullness of the garment in a multitude of pleats which, moreover, remained unalterable. The "foustanella" was fastened at the hips with hooks.

5th. The chest was protected with an undershirt of the same fabric as the stockings, a fabric that always woven on the loom.

6th. In addition a white shirt of cotton was worn with very wide pleated sleeves.

7th. Two belts made up the indispensable accessories to the male outfit. The first served quite simply to fit the foustanella

/Men's Apparel/

291 around the waist, and did not offer anything unusual. The other, very wide, which had several pockets on it was called "siliachi." These pockets served as pocketbook, fob, case for weapons, tools, even implements, etc.

8th. There were several variations of the vest worn over the the shirt. First, a simple vest, very short and without sleeves, of [531] which the two edges of the opening were ornamented respectively with a row of buttons and buttonholes that had no practical use since only the first button was buttoned; in addition, it /the vest/ was decorated with a certain number of embroidered motifs.

291 In the second instance there was the twill vest which, of course,
531 was buttoned; it was also ornamented with embroidered motifs. Finally, the "fermeli" consisted of the formal vest. Embroidered all over, this vest of silk was even made with a lining, likewise of silk; hung open false sleeves which began at the shoulders hung at the back, thus forming a supplementary decorative element.

Depending on the type, these vests were all black or dark blue.

291 9th. The head gear which completed this costume could be either a fez or a black cap.

/101/ Formerly, this clothing, which was the usual apparel was worn both on holidays and for daily work. Moreover, the degree of richness and beauty of this outfit was a means of distinguishing the social rank of the one who wore it. It is therefore obvious that the outfit of the chief had to be the most beautiful, the most opulent and the most ornate.

291 As a matter of fact, the traditional apparel has nearly been
178 given up. Only some old men living in remote regions continue to wear it in a simplified form. Their vests, for example, are no longer ornamented, and their fez has been permanently replaced by a cap [294] (fig. 79). Moreover, the artisan-tailors who, in former times, made these outfits, have also almost completely disappeared.

[071] For about the last fifty years the Sarakatsani have adopted the

[Fig. 79 appears on p. 117--Analyst]

/101 cont./ /Men's Apparel/

291 178 (171) apparel that is worn by almost all the highland shepherds of continental Greece. It is true that, the present clothing is less picturesque; it is, on the other hand, much more practical (fig. 78).

This apparel includes:

1st The "tsarouchia" (mocassins).

2nd Ordinary wool socks, knit by the women.

3rd Trousers of very heavy white wool, which are called "bourazana" or "panovraki floro."

It should be mentioned that in the recent past these trousers which have no opening in front and are fastened at the waist by means of a string were the apparel of old men and of the chief, that is to say, of those who did not work in the sheepfolds. The work trousers were of the same kind but were dark blue. We should specify that in our day, saved for rare exceptions, the use of the dark blue trousers has become generally established (fig. 80).

4th The drawers.

5th The undershirt.

6th An ordinary shirt.

7th An ordinary vest.

8th A jacket.

291 The Sarakatsani also use two kinds of overcoats: the first is a coat with sleeves called "maliotto" equipped with pockets as well as a wide and long collar. The second is merely a /102/ /Men's apparel, Figs. 78-83 appear here/ /103/ long cape without sleeves, finished off with a hood and made from goat hair, therefore water repellent. This is the "kapa." And it is very often in this cape the the shepherds wrap themselves for sleeping out-of-doors. For these clothes see figures 81, 82, 83.

Finally, their outfit is completed with a cap called "skoufia" (fig. 79).

Women's apparel

The women's apparel consists of the following articles:

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 118]

[Figs. 78-83 will be found on p.117--Analyst]

3: Kabbadias--117 E-4,5 · (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/102/

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Men's Apparel

Fig. 78

Fig. 79

Fig. 80

Fig. 82

Fig. 81

Fig. 83

/Women's Apparel/

/103 cont./

29
[531] 1st The previously mentioned "tsarouchia", likewise ornamented with pompons though considerably smaller ones than those of the men.

2nd "Stockings" (fig. 87) that cover the legs only to the knee.
[531] These stockings are knitted in geometric motifs, but only in black on white.

3rd By way of underclothing the women wear in winter a pair of pants stopping at the knees and woven of goat hair, to protect them from the cold, especially when they are obliged to cross streams on foot.

4th A wool undershirt protects the bust. On top of this undershirt they wear a very short shirt (it reaches to the hips) made of a cotton fabric. It has relatively short sleeves, that are very full and pleated. The scantiness of this shirt constitutes a health measure. If it were longer, the lower part would be in danger of becoming wet during the crossing of streams; now, drying next to the skin could cause serious health problems.

[531] 5th The dress proper includes: a very wide skirt falling to the feet, pleated and decorated with white embroidery in geometric designs. This skirt is fastened at the waist by a leather belt (fig. 88).

[531] 6th A bib, likewise embroidered with geometric motifs, as a rule black on white, protects the chest and reaches down to the waist (fig. 86).

7th From the wrist to the elbows the forearms are covered with "stockings" identical with the stockings that protect the legs.

8th The vest, three varieties of which we have described, is also a part of the women's apparel, but only in two forms. On the one hand, there is a simple black vest, which does not button in front /104/ /Women's Apparel Figs. 84-88 appear here/ /105/ thus leaving the bib showing and, on the other hand, a longer vest the back of which is ornamented with two false sleeves embroidered and open, starting at the shoulders. It is rather a kind of short coat, as its name also suggests: "kontokapa" (fig. 85).

9th An ornamental collar, pleated and likewise embroidered, completes the dress. /Fig. 89 appears here/

5: Kabbadias--119 E-4,S (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

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[301]
[142]

Women's Apparel

Fig. 84

Fig. 86

Fig. 87

Fig. 85

Fig. 88

/Women's Apparel/

/105 cont./

291
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Fig. 89

291 10th On the head the women wear a veil the color of which, as well as the manner of knotting it changes according to circumstances and the individual status. As a rule, the young girls wear white veils up to the age of 18 years. After that age the veil is printed with white flowers on a black background. Only the women in mourning and old women wear black veils. /106/

(531)
(765)
(888)

301 11th In order to conclude the presentation of the women's apparel it is suitable also to enumerate the ornaments: first the necklace which, in most cases, is made up of several strands of gold coins. Then come the earrings, the jewelry ornamenting the head veil, the brooch for the collarette, all of silver.

Moreover, the belt is closed with a clasp made of two pieces of engraved solid silver which sometimes weighs several kilograms. Finally, silver chains crossing the chest are embellished with multi-

/Women's Apparel/

/106 cont./

colored precious stones (fig. 84).

This outfit is worn for festivals and weddings.

Of course, the everyday dress, the dress for work, is much simpler, although the principal features are scarcely different from those we have described. The difference is limited chiefly to the relative absence of emboidery, jewelry or the silver buckle (see fig. 89).

Moreover, the work outfit includes a scarf, a shawl made of a rectangular "flokotti," some 1.50 meters long,

Fig. 90

/107/ preferably black which is worn over the shoulders and serves as a cloak enveloping the body (fig. 90, vélentzoula).

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In addition to these descriptions, and in order to consider Sarakatsani apparel from a technological point of view, it is necessary to emphasize that in general the men's as well as the women's clothing is cut and stitched. However, sometimes the sleeves

291 294 /107 cont./ of blouses, and undershirts are one-piece /droits/?/ garments.

291 178 The blouse or outer shirt is closed. The vests are open, like the "kapa." However, when we go from the traditional apparel of the men to the present-day apparel we see that the garment becomes more and more closed, if not overlapped (vest, jacket, "maliotto").

[171] The "progress," so to speak, of the garment as it approaches this final contemporary costume of the Mediterranean peasants, takes this course from open to closed and to overlapping.

The women's dress, the one we have called the work outfit becomes a dress with shoulder straps, where the bib is set directly on the pleated skirt.

294 It is suitable here to describe the method of pleating the skirt. The latter is made out of a wide, straight band closed with a seam into which the flap of the opening is incorporated. At the height of the waist, the number of pleats desired are formed and secured with a seam. The operation is repeated at the bottom of the skirt, at the hem level, where the pleats are held in place with simple basting. Then the skirt is pressed between the hands and stretched out, so that the pleats are extended along the entire length; it is then tied together at several places with a cord. The whole thus looks like pleated bellows, so to speak. After that the bundle is dipped in a cauldron filled with water and brought to a boil. Now and then one removes the skirt and beats it with a paddle, being careful not to open the pleats. Finally, one removes it from the cauldron, lets it dry and undoes the basting at the [513] bottom in order to free the pleats. The latter then stay indefinitely although the Sarakatsani women go to bed fully dressed.

[286] The fabric used for the skirt is, as we know, the "kaltsoskouti," the twill used for making certain male garments (vests, jackets, trousers or bourazana). For other clothing the "ordinary weave" is used.

291 439 /108/ Nevertheless, a large part of the items that make up the clothing come from the outside market. The mocassins, for example, the ordinary belt as also the "siliachi," the display fez, the cap, the

/108 cont./

291 439 ornaments of the women (clasps, chains, etc.), as well as the cotton fabrics for the "foustanella," for the shirt or for underclothing are bought commercially.

294 445 177 Finally, the services of the tailor also come from the outside; an itinerant tailor is called upon to make the "foustanella" and vests of every sort.

294 The Sarakatsani make only their other clothing themselves.

513 352 Blankets and rugs

The description of blankets and rugs was given in connection with the study of their manufacture.

As far as their use is concerned, it should be pointed out that while the "tsolia" and the "fouskotto" are always used as rugs, the blankets have the double role of covering human beings while they are asleep and making them comfortable on the floor of the hut. A double use which, however, does not take away from their character as blankets for their second use is merely complementary. However, the "karamelotti" blankets (fig. 40)A are never used as rugs.

513 One other point remains to be stated: the Sarakatsani are not even acquainted with sheets and mattresses. On the other hand, cushions and pillows are widely used.

Food-Drink-Heat and Light

262 Food.

If we wish to classify in a hierarchical order the basic products that enter into the food of the Sarakatsani we should mention first milk and dairy products, then maize and wheat flour, then edible grasses, vegetables, olive oil and last of all meat.

[439] All these subsistence goods are directly at the disposal of the Sarakatsani except flour, oil and vegetables for which he must turn to the economy of surrounding society on which he depends to this extent.

[251] /109/ Moreover, dairy products (cheese, butter), wheat and maize,

A, /Fig.40 appears on p.66--Analyst/

3: Kabbadias--133 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/117/

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Fig. 97

Fig. 98

Fig. 99

/179 cont./

He is seldom personally involved in herding, and carries a staff much shorter than that of the other shepherds, a staff /180/ which is also a sign of his rank. Moreover, he is the only one who has a saddle horse.

His dress is more elaborate than that of his men and his hut is always situated in the center of the encampment and built on the highest point.

Generally, his hut has a fretzato (circular enclosure adjoining the hut and forming a court) in which he receives visitors and where the negotiations with merchants take place.

It is he who offers hospitality, not forgetting, however, to write down the expenditures as part of the general cost of the business.

Nothing happens in the Tséligato that he is not advised of. However, his authority never gives him the right to interfere in questions concerning the private lives of the participants.

In the course of performing his functions, the Tséligas may, if he wishes, consult the other men of the Tséligato. Yet this almost never happens. There is only one situation in which he needs the opinion of the experienced shepherds; he inquires of them about the quality of the grass of different pastures meant for the various categories of livestock.

We see by this that the only case in which the opinion of the subjects of the Tséligas might be expressed is in an essentially technical, and not in an administrative matter.

This exception is very characteristic of the status and prestige of the Tséligas who must, above all, act with justice, objectivity, generosity, and prudence. Respected by all, he insures order and peace.

If one or another of the participants shows himself to be undesirable the Tséligas can turn him out before the expiration of his contract, but after the mutual obligations have been settled.

/321 cont./

789 182 Now it is obvious that magic, acting on these elements, at the same time encourages the structuring of Sarakatsani society, and even more specifically, supports the structure of the various family groups and the Tséligato.

789 182 462 562 796 This influence in the direction of structuring always on the basis of these same elements is exerted in yet another way. The observation of the magical attributes of men and women is very revealing in this respect. We know that women are entrusted with rites dealing with the well-being of the couple, the birth and well-being of the child, family prosperity, the birth of female animals, exorcisms and purifications, and finally the making of amulets. To men is reserved the performance of [776] dramatic scenes on Epiphany and Pure Monday, the dance to turn away evil spirits lying in wait for married couples, the rites to remove the demon Daoutis. We see therefore that, essentially, Sarakatsani magic is the domain of women. If the men are entrusted with some specific rites it [831] is because the dramatic scenes which these involve have a very pronounced sexual character and their performance is incompatible with the state of the women in this patriarchal society dominated by strict and harsh moves. (122)

122. Let us remember that a woman must avoid every attitude, [291] word or gesture which would attract lust. Her dress, which hides her lines, is evidence of this.

[233] As for the rites to remove Daoutis, the women cannot take part in them and this owing to the nature of circumstances, for the sheepfolds are distant from the dwellings and an attack of this plague necessitates immediate intervention which therefore devolves upon the shepherds who are present.

789 562 462 233 791 These exceptions confirm the rule, as do /322/ two other facts: it is the women who apply to the richtologos to ask for his exorcisms; and it is they who take care of those animals consecrated to the devil,

/336 cont./

764 Next, a white velentza (blanket) is spread out in the center of the hut, the deceased placed upon it, his eyes are closed and his feet tied with a rope so that "he will not shift in his grave," actually so that he will not become a ghost! (13)

> 13. M. Eliade, in Images et Symboles, p. 146, footnote 57, says, citing Frazer: La crainte des morts, /The fear of the dead/ pp. 53-59, that it is always as defense against the spirits of the dead that corpses are tied up, although the significance of this custom is more complex.

With regard to his position on the ground we refer to what was said elsewhere (pp. 276-278). Then the attendants place themselves around him and [533] the women, without distinction of age, status of kinship, commence to [152] weep loudly and sing the mirolia (special songs, often improvised) while tearing their hair, beating their breasts and sometimes scratching their [602] cheeks. The next of kin must weep more than the others. The intensity and sadness of the lamentations are in inverse proportion to the age of the deceased.

765 The same is true of mourning. If the deceased was a young person, mourning lasts three to five years. If it was an old person, only one year. An old Sarakatsani woman told us that after the death of her elderly husband she did not replace the red blankets which were part of the decor of her hut with black blankets, for her companion had lived his life and she had her children.

[822] Black is the color of mourning. The women no longer wear embroidered [602] garments, the men put on black shirts and let their beards grow. The [291] mother of the deceased and the widow wear mourning for life, the first [178] because "a mother is never consoled for the loss of her child," the second because "she must be in mourning forever for her spouse."

3: Kabbadias--435 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

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Fig. 108

/381 cont./

182 602 571 594 554 [613] The hierarchy of groups within the family (conjugal families, small lineages) is based on the degree of kinship of their head with the communal head; the same is true for individuals, whose hierarchical grouping complies in addition, with criteria of age and sex. The statuses and roles of groups and individuals are likewise determined by the same criteria, with this additional difference for individuals that for them there is a second frame of reference: that of the conjugal family. Individuals are thus subject to two hierarchical chains, which involve two series of roles and statuses still distinguished according to the same criteria.

182 594 181 The demographic density observed in the family group, marriage and birth /rates/ have their origin in the dynamics of this group and the values it adopts (to have many children or to be married constitutes a distinction), in the economy as well as in the conditions of life, which means kinship, herding, isolation. Similarly, nomadism plays a special 182 361 233 role with regard to technology, which is simple and within the reach of all (crafts and construction, including the organization of living space). 182 462 As far as the division of labor between the sexes is concerned, it, likewise is determined by the way of life, as well as by the quasi-patriarchal tinge of the family, resulting in an organization based on the primacy of men (production is confined chiefly to the men and consumption chiefly to the women); in return, this organization finds support in the 182 291 261 181 way the work is divided. Patterns in the use of clothing and food are influenced by isolation (autarchy), nomadism (simplicity - rapidity), resources and raw materials (products of herding--milk, wool), values (sobriety, chastity and above all, societal control of women's sexuality - frugal diet, absence of luxury, clothing which hides the woman's lines) and social and cosmological ideas (the /382/ dress showing rank or status

182 /382 cont./
291 in family or society symbolic ornaments bringing about fecundity among
261 women).
181

182 Nevertheless, every economico-social system has need of another
691 system of rules which will socially guarantee the first. The Sarakatsani thus introduce their law first of all, based on custom, equity and common sense, which means that this law, along with crystallized rules, includes spontaneous and ad hoc prescriptions. It sanctions the fundamental organizing rules of their life and the functioning of their social and economic institutions which it makes their own. Its salient characteristic is to favor cooperation and its results, and to combat individualism,
182 Its chief concern is to protect kinship and herding by its penal provisions;
691 that is why it does not hesitate to threaten miscreants with capital
681 punishment (the vendetta, for example). In any case, and in order to impose itself, it introduces a mechanism of ajudication, of sanction and coercion, sometimes not apparent, which are in keeping with isolation (not to resort to the justice of "the foreigner") and to the necessity of showing itself effective, though there does not exist among them a specific legal
(626) apparatus. The principle of conformity finds its best means of expression here, while enforcing the mechanism in question. On the other hand,
182 morality, by its mechanism of honor or dishonor maintains all the rules
599 enumerated, integrating them into its principal values such as tradition,
181 family, chastity, community, bravery and independence, which basically represent merely the main ideas of Sarakatsani life elevated to the level of morality.

There is nothing astonishing in this state of affairs. The moment a society accepts and proposes a certain number of fundamental principles on which it bases its life, it is altogether normal that these principles be raised to moral values. The contrary would result in meaninglessness.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sara Katsani EH14
Vlachs EH15

differ linguistically. Part of the lure of this Epirus trip was learning more about these people and their way of life.

I had already seen their rounded branch and reed huts, surrounded by wattled sheepfolds, put up either in some isolated, sheltered spot or at the edge of some village I was visiting. Although in Greece they do not number more than ten to twelve thousand families, they stand out picturesquely wherever they are. The men are dressed in tight-fitting black felt trousers and a black waistcoat and usually carry a black hip-length cape slung over their shoulder. They wear a round brimless lambskin cap (*kalpaki*). Many of the nomad women, in contrast to most of the Greek peasant women who now wear variations of Western dress, still keep to their heavy pleated homespun skirts, thick wool stockings, and wide leather belt.

Even such generalizations on dwelling and clothing are dangerous, for there are different nomadic groups. From many conversations with the nomads themselves as well as with others familiar with them, I was able to draw up tentative distinctions. On the basis of language, one can easily divide them into three groups. There are Koutso-Vlachs (the Lame Vlachs) who speak a Latin tongue in the home, although most of them, particularly the men, know Greek; the Arvanito-Vlachs (also called Karagouni because of the black cape they wear) who speak Albanian among themselves, although they still understand the Latin language of the Koutso-Vlachs from whom they derive; and the Sarakatsani, said not to be Vlach at all, who speak Greek as their only language. Many informants told me that the Sarakatsani were among the "purest Greeks" because they had practiced endogamy.

Another way of dividing the nomads is on the basis of type of settlement. The Karagouni and the Sarakatsani are called Skenites (literally, "tent dwellers"), for they do not usually have permanent homes either at their summer or their winter encampment. They build their reed huts anew each year or patch up those that remain usable from the previous year. The Koutso-Vlachs as well as the Greek peasants who practice transhumance (like those of Valtetsi) usually have a permanent village which they call home. In some interviews I found that the Koutso-Vlachs considered their winter home as the permanent settlement and the summer pastures the encampment; but most evidence seemed to indicate the reverse to be true.

The origin of these Koutso-Vlachs is one of the great ethnic puzzles of the Balkans, for their Latin tongue, although greatly corrupted by words from other Balkan languages, follows the four conjugations of ancient Latin. As in most riddles of this sort, nationalistic interests have led to several extravagant claims. Some of the modern Rumanians, chiefly in the old provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, looked to the south across Bulgaria and what is now Yugoslavia to claim these Romance-language shepherds as long lost brothers to be reunited with the "homeland." They advanced

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
SaraKatsani EH14
Vlachs EH15

S V 291 We started off by trying to identify different groupings among the nomads. Christos Berates was himself of the Karagouni (Arvanito-Vlachs), and even he found it difficult to draw the distinctions in dress between his people and the Sarakatsani and Koutso-Vlachs. The women of the Sarakatsani usually wore sandals with large pompoms attached; the Koutso-Vlach women usually wore an embroidered bolero, although the small hats they once wore have now disappeared in favor of a simple head kerchief. He S V 191 recognized, of course, the linguistic differences and pointed out that the Koutso-Vlachs do not know Albanian the way his people do. When Berates spoke Greek, he did so with a liquid or French *r*, a fact which the Greeks present attributed to his Albanian linguistic background. Other Karagouni [194] spoke Greek with the same peculiarity.

S 186 When the discussion turned to other customs, Berates indicated that the Sarakatsani (the Greek-speaking group) have their noses up in the air, thinking themselves better than the other nomads. As we have already noted, they have unwritten laws not to marry outside their group. They, like the S V 584 Karagouni, will betroth their sons or daughters without the young persons having seen the proposed mate, while the Koutso-Vlachs allow the young man to see whom he is to marry quite a while before the wedding wreath is put on her head.

S V 511 Conversation became animated when I asked the men to tell me what the income would be from a "fairly good-sized" flock. They assumed that such a flock numbered 700 sheep, 400 of these producing milk. Each of the 400 can be expected to give 25 okas (an oka equals one and a third quarts) 434 of milk during the winter season and 10 okas in the summer, making a total of 14,000 okas per year. The whole fleece from each of the 700 sheep will 233 average three fourths of an oka of wool, or 525 okas per year for the flock. [433] In addition, about 150 male lambs will be sold for meat. Thus, the income over a year would be, with 30 drachmas equaling one dollar, 74,600 drachmas.

The animation came about when the agricultural-extension worker tried to raise some of the shepherds' estimates of income to what he considered a fair amount. They kept insisting that they received very little but finally reached agreement on the above figures. They were only too ready, however, to list with enthusiasm all of the expenses they had. In drachmas, these items included:

Winter and summer pasture	49,000
Hire of shepherds (6 for flock, each at 5,000 per year)	30,000
Food (chiefly bread for hired shepherds)	6,000
Salt (so sheep will drink more water and give more milk)	1,000
Travel expense of head shepherd	7,000
	93,000